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A
LETTER
TO
Mr. P **

On Occasion of his late LETTER, &c.



1785.
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LETTER

TO
Mr. P * *

On Occasion of his late

LETTER

In ANSWER to the
REMARKS, &c.



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THE FEDERAL

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A

LETTER

TO

Mr. P **

SIR,



Think it proper to acquaint you at the Entrance of this Letter, that I am no way concerned in the *Remarks* which your most extraordinary Letter is an Answer to; nor do I know the Author of them: But as I think them in the main to be very just and true, as well as writ with Life and Spirit, so I am one of those who have read them with much pleasure. But it is not the Defence of them that calls me forth; the Author, I'm persuaded, is very able to

defend himself: It is to express my Resentment of your scandalous Usage of two great Princes, your Sovereigns; 'tis to vindicate the Character of their Minister from your barbarous Treatment of him; 'tis to assert the Justice and Wisdom of the Parliament which you have insulted with so much Indignity: In short, it is to bear my Testimony in Defence of the Government, against the vile Imputations with which you have, in the most insolent manner, arraigned the publick Measures for sixteen Years past, that I have taken up my Pen. I have given a good deal of Attention to the publick Affairs for all those Years, and many more, and have had some share in the Friendship of the Ministers who have had the chief Management of them, for a great part of the late, as well as in the present Reign; and from thence am able, upon my own Memory and Knowledge, to set many things right, which you have in your Letter very grossly misrepresented. I call it *yours*, not only because it carries in it throughout the most evident Marks of its true Author, but because I really think you would take it ill to have it thought to come from any other Hand. And it must I confess be allowed to be a very extraor-

extraordinary Performance, and *unanswerable* in its kind ; you having made choice of a way of writing, in which you are by much an over-match for any Man that is a Gentleman.

You seem, Sir, to think it a Crime to write with Temper, and that it is an unreasonable Restraint upon a Genius, such as yours, to keep within the Bounds of Decency and Good-manners : To give the freer vent to your Passions, and from a Disdain to encounter with an unknown Adversary, you take a liberty of ascribing things to Persons who you know did not write them. Thus you make the Minister you want to be revenged on, Author of the *Remarks*, tho' yourself confess you know he absolutely disowned it ; he disowned not only the writing of the *Remarks*, but that he so much as saw them before they were in Print : But yet he must be made the Author, in order to excuse the Barbarity with which you resolved to treat him, and which you are conscious nothing else could excuse. But with what Success ? By this extraordinary Performance you have fixed your own Character more effectually than the Author of the *Remarks*, or any other Writer could possibly have done ; and that in the worst part of it, as a Man of furious

furious Passions, of insatiable Ambition, and of a Temper revengeful and implacable beyond Example ; and that there is nothing so vile and base you will not descend to, to gratify it. You have convinced the World that you are a false Friend ; that no body can converse with you in confidence ; that you can, without any Provocation, disclose Secrets, and betray the most private Conversation ; a Character to the last degree dishonourable. This is part of that odious Character Mr. P. has by his *Letter* fixed upon himself, and that irretrievably : And the truth of this he will find every Day he lives. But what hurt has your Libel done the Minister you so furiously attack ? It's very Virulence has made it harmless : For now we have the utmost Malice has to say ; and it can't but be a great Satisfaction to his Friends to find the Whole of what is Personal, when we come to Facts, amounts to so very little. For, besides general Invectives and opprobrious Language, in which by a long Practice you have acquired a great Facility ; besides the Calumnies of *Corruption* and *Profusion*, Weak and Wicked Measures, and such kind of Scandal, in which by Implication are involved the late and present King, and all their Par-

liaments, and the whole Government: Besides these general Charges, the personal Facts insisted on are these Three:

1. That at the Time of the Reconciliation between the late King and his present Majesty, then Prince of *Wales*, this Minister, in a private Conversation with Mr. *P.* spoke of the Prince in a most insolent and contemptuous manner.
2. That when this Minister acted as Secretary of State one Summer while the late King was at *Hanover*, attended by the two Secretaries, he took the Salary and usual Perquisites which belong to the Place of Secretary.
3. That once upon a time, this Minister, upon some Information he had received of a Design to burn his House, to be executed such a Night, did late that Night acquaint Mr. *P.* being his next Neighbour, with it.. I mention these Facts in the Order I intend to speak to them.

What you say upon the first of these, I must take the Liberty to say I don't believe; because 'tis certain, that in the Treaty about this Reconciliation, this Minister and his Friends would hearken to no Accommodation for themselves exclusive of the Prince, tho' that was

B strongly

strongly insisted on by the King's Ministers: This was well known to those whose Concern it was; tho' while this Affair was treating, there was an absolute Necessity of conducting it with the greatest Secrecy, since it is more than probable, that if it had taken Air, it had miscarried thro' the Artifice of those who had no mind that unhappy Breach should be made up. And for that Reason the Secret was kept till the whole was concluded. But I have other Reasons for disbelieving what you say on this Head, from the Relation yourself give of it: For you tell us, that upon this Minister's acquainting you, that a Peerage was stipulated for you, you answer'd with great Disdain thus; "Sir, If ever I should
 " be mean enough to submit to being
 " sold, I promise you that *you* shall
 " never have the selling of me.—I will
 " never obtain a Peerage by any base
 " Method, or submit to have it got up
 " on any such Terms by *you*." Then follows, "But since you acquaint me with
 " the Terms you have made for me,
 " what are those you have made for the
 " Prince?" Now is it credible, that any Man of common Sense, after such extreme Rudeness to him for what he thought deserved your Thanks, should speak

speak to you of the Prince in the manner you have made him, in Language that should not have been used in any Conversation, and never could be but in the utmost Confidence? And what still lessens the Credit of this Relation, there are other Things in it, which it is impossible could be true: For you represent this Minister, as telling you, That he was to be at the Head of the Treasury, and that he had stipulated for himself for a Share of Royalty. Now it is most certain, from the Facts that presently followed upon the Reconciliation, that neither of those Points were any Part of the Stipulation: This Minister was neither at the Head of the Treasury, nor had he any Share in the Regency. This plainly shows not only that this Representation is false, but that you do not give it us from any Minutes you took down in Writing at the Time; and that Malice, in this Narrative, has very ill supplied the Place of Memory, at the Distance of eleven Years; a very long time to remember particularly so long a Conversation; but some People can remember just what they please, especially when they think it impossible they can be detected, as in this Case of a Conversation between two Gentlemen, at which

no third Person was present : But it often happens, as it has done here, that Falshood, when it can't be prov'd by Witnesses, discovers itself to every discerning Eye by internal Evidences.

But if this Narrative were true, what must the Man be, who could thus betray what, if it was said, must be supposed to have been said in Confidence ? Is any thing so odious as a false Friend ? Can any Man of Honour see the most private Conversation thus shamefully betrayed, without Abhorrence ? For that you own you did then at the Time ; that you went to the Prince, and told him he was sold to the King's Servants ; and this is the only Part of your Relation I can certainly believe. In what manner you reprefented this, when it was your Busines to inflame, may easily be guessed. But to what End is this noble Episode here introduced into this extraordinary Performance ? How comes it to have a place in an Answer to the *Remarks* ? Or how does it serve to the Unity of the Piece ? What has a Story about something that passed eleven Years ago, to do in a Defence of what you are now charged with ? Why ; you tell us it is to shew the profound Respect you have for his Majesty, in answer to the

Remarks

Remarks which charge you with Disaffection. And is not this an admirable Proof? You had great Respect for His Majesty when Prince, about eleven Years ago; therefore you have so now. Did you, Sir, really think this Reasoning could pass upon any Body? Many Men are so fickle and uncertain, so inconstant and changeable, that they can't forbear appearing in a much shorter time in quite different Characters. If any Conclusion could be drawn from what your Behaviour was to the Prince so many Years ago, to what it is now to the King, I could prove by the same Argument, but more strongly, because it is for a much shorter time, that you now live in great Friendship with the Minister, and act entirely, in all appearance at least, in Conjunction with him; for it is not seven Years since you did so. But how would the Man be mistaken that should believe this? Where must he have lived, who does not know, that the most violent Enmity, the fiercest Opposition, the blackest Malice, has succeeded into the Place of the old Friendship? And has your Opposition to the King been less than that to his Minister? Or can you believe any Prince, after such a Behaviour as you have shewn for some Years

Years past, weak enough to think you well affected to his Person or Service now, because once upon a time you pretended, and perhaps had a great Respect for him? No; you could not believe this; this could not be the true Reason why this old Story is now brought upon the Carpet. But as it is certain this was not your View, so 'tis easy to see what was; you hoped, in the first place, to exasperate the King against the Minister; and then who but Mr. P. could be his Successor? But this was a poor Game; could you hope a Story trump'd up after so many Years, would have this Effect upon a wise Prince, and who yourself say, thoroughly knows his Minister? Could you imagine the long Proof his Majesty has had of his good Services, would not easily outweigh such vile Insinuations, especially when this Story could not but recall to his Remembrance the false Part you acted by this Minister in the Report you made to him at the very time of this Transaction? But supposing you could have succeeded so far, as to make this Minister fall under the Royal Displeasure, Could you expect this honest, this good-natur'd, this loyal Part, would, in an Instant, have cancelled all old Scores, and wiped out that long

Scroll

Scroll of Difserices, by which you have for so many Years chosen to distinguish yourself, and which you tell us you look upon as the *most shining Part of your Character?* And may you never shine in any other. But if you had succeeded so far as to hurt the Minister, could you, I say, expect you should presently jump into the Place of First Minister yourself? Sure this is being a little too sanguine: For if we suppose this, What must be the Consequence? Will you pursue publick Measures you have so long declaimed against, or will you continue the same Opposition to them? If the first, What Occasion to change Hands? But if the last, then the King must not only change one Minister, but all, and all his Measures too; and in Submission to your superior Understanding, condemn every Thing that he and his Royal Father have thought it for their own and the Nation's Interest to do for sixteen Years past; that is, ever since their Accession to the Throne; and verify all the Infamy and Scandal that yourself and Partners have loaded them with. But this I doubt will be thought a Matter of too hard Digestion, under a wise and great Prince; tho' such an Attempt did once succeed in another Reign, to the great Mis-

Misfortune and Dishonour of the Nation.

But perhaps you hoped to force the King into your Resentments; otherwise he is to be exposed by you to his People, in the most injurious manner, by the Words you have thought fit to put into the Mouth of his Minister: And I am much inclined to think, from the Rage you are in, and your Despair of the Royal Favour, which seems to be the only true and adequate Cause of so much Rage, that this is what you chiefly intended by this very abusive Passage. For, give me leave, Sir, to say, that no Resentment, had the Story been ever so true, and could it have been divulged without any Breach of Faith or Honour, could have provoked any Man who had a real Respect for the King to repeat it: Such Words, let them be spoken by whom you will, could fall from the Pen of no Man who has any Spark of Loyalty left in him: Such a Man would stifle the greatest Provocations, rather than sacrifice the Honour of his Sovereign to any Resentment of his own.

And what confirms me in a Suspicion that this is what you chiefly intended, is what you say, in another part of your Libel, of a certain *Closet*. “ Such In-
“ sinuations, you say, will never find
“ Credit

“ Credit in any Place, unless it be in a certain *Closet*.” And again, “ I dare say, this *Closet* is the only Place in the Kingdom where such Assertions can gain any belief.” What Insolence is this, to treat a Prince’s Closet with such Contempt? ’Tis a very great Abuse of a Minister to say he is so vile and false a Creature, that there is not a Place in the Kingdom where he will be believed: But is it not a much greater on the Prince, whose Minister he is, and whom he still continues to trust with the chief Management of his Affairs? Is not this the highest Reflection upon the Wisdom of the Prince, as if he had less Penetration and Discernment than the lowest of his People? And is not the Man that insinuates this, a very loyal Subject? But your Disloyalty does not stop here: You are not content to reflect on the Wisdom of your King, under pretence of wounding the Minister; to give him the *Lye* under Cover, you accuse one of the politest and best-bred Princes in the World of the Want of Good-Manners, and make him guilty of great Indecency; a Prince, in whom we daily see how much Politeness becomes Majesty, and that there is no Inconsistency between Greatness and Good-Manners; but that on the contra-

ry, they are then most graceful when they adorn the Persons of highest Rank. This is the Prince we serve, who in every View has a right to the Esteem and Affections of his People; but whom they must think devoid both of Sense and Manners, if they will give Credit to your vile Insinuations.

Thus, Sir, you play the King upon the Minister, and the Minister upon the King; and to gratify your Rage and Malice against one, throw off all Respect and Decency to the sacred Person of the other; but without doing, I'm persua-
ded, any real hurt to either: Your Ma-
lice is too undisguised, as well as your
Stories too improbable, to have any other
Effect, than to fix on yourself the odious
Characters of Disloyalty and Perfidy, of
a bad Subject, and a false Friend.

These, Sir, are my Thoughts, as I am sure they are of many others, of this Charge against the Minister, which you intended for the mortal Stab, and therefore, I suppose, reserved it for the last place, but which, for that reason, I have chosen to consider in the first; and the first no doubt it was in your Design, and for it the whole Book was written. Your other personal Charges are so mean and little, that they scarce deserve Consideration.

ration. One of them is, That when he acted as Secretary of State one Summer, when the two Secretaries were in Attendance upon the late King at *Hanover*, he took the usual Profits and Perquisites belonging to the Place. And why should he not? Were not the Seals given to him? Was he not as truly made Secretary of State as others are? Did not his Acceptance of the Seals void his Election? Has a Person who does the Office of two Secretaries in their Absence, no Trouble, nothing to do? If Mr. P— thinks so, 'tis a sign he has not yet been in the Office, tho' he has so long had a mind to it. But did the Minister, in taking the Appointments of Secretary, do any thing which others did not do before him? I remember in the Year 1616, when one Secretary only went with the late King to *Hanover*, the Seals during his Absence were given to a Person of great Honour and Generosity, never accused of a greedy selfish Spirit: Did not he take the Profits belonging to the Place? Did he refuse the Plate, because he was Secretary only *pro tempore*? I never heard he did; and yet he had four times the Quantity in another Character, but a little before. I have indeed heard of another Gentleman, who when he

first came into the Place of Secretary of War, was so righteous that he absolutely refused a considerable Article of the Appointments that make up the Profits of that Office; but afterwards this Squeamishness went off, his Stomach came to him, and he could digest all the Appointments belonging to the Office as easily as others had done before him; and made Application that he might be allowed the Part he had before refused: Nay, he, who at first would take but Part of the Profits, was not now content with the Whole, but insisted on an additional Pension of 200*l.* per *Ann.* because he had no House; having learnt, it seems, that Mr. Blathwait had one; and why then should not he, or, in lieu of it, a Pension? This is the righteous, self-denying Gentleman, who is so angry with the Minister for taking the Profits of Secretary of State, when he was in that Office; and thinks this a Matter of that Importance, "that he can't but publish it, since he fears it is not commonly known;" a Thing that never could be intended to be a Secret, and for which there can't be assigned the least Reason why it should. But what this Gentleman did is so much a Secret, that it is become so even to himself; he is not able

able to recollect this Pension of 200*l.*
per Ann. though the *Remarks* gave him
so fair an Opportunity for it, by telling
him, *That himself had added to the Pen-
sions of the Crown;* by which Words, if
the Remarker meant this, he expressed
himself very properly; for is not this
truly adding to the Pensions of the
Crown, when this Gentleman insisted on
this Addition to the Apointments of the
Secretary at War; and by his doing so,
has made it necessary to be allowed to all
that have succeeded him in the same Of-
fice? But Mr. *P.* is so unapt to suspect him-
self, that a Charge in very plain Terms
could not bring this to his Memory; ra-
ther than he will think these Words affect
him, he will have the Writer to mean by
Pension, the Place that was given to a noble
Lord, who was removed from being Cof-
ferer to make room for him. If that was
really the *Remarker's* Meaning, he expref-
fed himself very improperly: For how can
an ancient and honourable Post, for such
Groom of the Stole is, be called a *Pen-
sion*? But whether the *Remarker* meant
that or not, Mr. *P.* shews his Conscious-
ness, that he was in reality the Cause
of that great annual Expence to the
Crown. However, Mr. *P.*— takes occasion
from hence to say a great many fine
things of that noble Lord, and I agree
with

with him in all of them ; he has an upright Heart, and clear Head ; is hurried away with no troublesome and turbulent Passions ; is truly amiable for Good-nature, a fine Understanding, and great Honour ; he will never be accused of *Lust of Power, Appetite of Wealth, or an over-bearing Spirit.* But Mr. P— is extremely mistaken in his Compliments to this noble Lord, if he thinks he can disunite him from the Minister : I will venture to assure him, there has always been a mutual Affection and Esteem between these two honourable Persons, under all Court-Changes for thirty Years past ; and you may depend on it, this Friendship will subsist, and that it will not be in the Power of any low and little Artifices to give the least Interruption to it.

Having shewn with what Truth the *Remarks* might say, *you added to the Pensions of the Crown,* I beg leave to ask, What Connection there is between this Charge of the *Remarks*, and your little Story of the Minister ? Or what it helps towards your Defence ? If nothing, to what purpose is it introduced, but to shew the intemperate Malice of the Writer, and his Eagerness to vent any thing he thinks will divert the Attention of the Reader, and carries in it an Appearance of

of retaliating, be it ever so mean, and low, and unbecoming a Gentleman? Such this Story is, and yet 'tis nothing to the purpose.

But I must not leave this Story, without taking notice of what you think a great Aggravation to this trifling Charge, "That he paid himself the full Appointments for that Time; and that he gave himself the Plate; and you believe, this is not the only Instance in which he has signed the Warrant, as *Head of the Treasury*, for paying himself in other Employments." Now it falls out very unluckily for you, that the *Warrant* for the Plate was not signed by this Minister, tho' at that Time, as you say, at the Head of the Treasury; but by others of the Commissioners, as you may easily be satisfied upon Enquiry. This is one very plain Instance how you charge at random; you first accuse, and trust to finding Proofs afterwards; but not the only one. And I am fully persuaded, that upon a fair Examination into Facts, your political Charges will be found to be no better grounded.

Your third personal Charge is, That once upon a time, this Minister, upon some Information he had receiv'd of a Design to burn his House, to be executed

ted such a Night, did late that Night acquaint Mr. P. with it, who was his next Neighbour. This Story Mr. P. puts into a very ridiculous Dress; the Minister, if you will believe him, is in a great Fright, but himself is all Courage and Intrepidity. But strip this Story of the Dress Mr. P. has put it in, and what is there in it? No more than this, as I have heard it related; and which Account speaks itself to be true. This Minister had Intelligence given him by a Person of good Character and Substance, that he overheard some Persons in Concert to set Fire to his House at such a certain Hour that very Night; and upon this thought fit to acquaint his next Neighbours on each Hand with it, who were the Duke of M— and Mr. P—; so that the Minister did no more with respect to Mr. P. than to the D. Consequently did not go to him for Shelter, as is here represented; but that he might take such Precautions as he should think proper. The Minister himself thought fit to appoint two of his Servants to sit up to watch. I ask, If Mr. P. did not do at least as much? If he did, How did he shew more Courage than the Minister, or more Discernment in not giving any Credit to the Minister's Intelligence?

This

This sufficiently shews, that the Story, as Mr. P. tells it, is a gross Misrepresentation: But, to please you, I will suppose it true. What is it you would infer from it? Will the Minister's being, upon a certain Occasion, put into a Fright, prove him to be a weak and corrupt Minister? No; but it will prove that Timidity has a great Share in his Composition. But how so? Was a courageous Man never frightned? Has burning Houses nothing in it terrible? Or is it impossible to be executed by desperate Villains? Or are there no such Villains in the Nation? Have no Endeavours been used to render this Minister odious to the Dregs of the People? Have no Conspiracies been in Agitation against the present Establishment? And are not Ministers of State, and their Houses, usually pointed out to be the first Sacrifices? How ridiculous then is it, to pretend that a Minister wants Resolution, because on some Occasions he may think Intelligences of that kind deserve some little notice.

But how is this Story brought in, or what has it to do in Mr. P.'s Defence? Why, thus! Mr. P. about four Years since, made a brutal Vow, that he would pursue this Minister to Destruction.

Which Mr. P. in his Letter, so far explains away, as to say, that if his Ministry were destroyed, this terrible Vow would be made good ; though that Explication I shall presently shew from his own Words to be false. Now this Vow Mr. P. fancies, or rather pretends to fancy so, gives the Minister great Uneasiness, and frequent Fears. But what is so like to Fear as Fear? What therefore can be a prettier or more natural Transition, than this, from a Fear of Mr. P.'s Vow, to a Fear of having his House burnt? But what spoils the Jest, is that this Minister has never shew'd any Fear of this silly Vow, but on the contrary has always despised it, and treated both that and the Author of it with great Contempt.

But as this Vow, in Mr. P.'s Opinion, has given the Minister most Uneasiness, I will, says he, endeavour to explain it, by acquainting the Publick with a thing, which he is sure will be very agreeable to it. Now mind the Explication, but remember the Vow was made about four Years since. " Your distres, says Mr. P., has obliged you to tamper with several Gentlemen in the *Opposition*. " This has induced them to consult one another upon this Head, and they are come to a Resolution not to listen to any

" any Treaty, in which the first Condition shall not be to deliver you up to the Justice of your Country. Don't flatter your self that this is a rash Measure, or a Fit of personal Resentment; 'tis taken to prevent any secret Bargain for your Retreat and Security".

Mr. P. said before, his Vow would be made good by destroying his Ministry; but in this Explication he tells us, the Resolution is, his Person shall be destroyed, there shall be no *Retreat or Security for him, he shall be delivered up to the Justice of his Country.* Here is a plain Contradiction; the Vow is here owned in its full Import, but a little before it is explain'd away, as too monstrous and shocking. I scarce believe he knew what he meant himself, when he made this memorable Vow; for Passion when 'tis violent has not much meaning; much less do I think he is exactly in the same Sentiments four or five Years together: I have already observed, that his Vow, according to his own Interpretation of it, differs widely from the declared Design of this Confederacy.

But to say something to the great Secret here discovered, I must confess in the first Place, I can't believe any such

Confederacy is formed; I have too good an Opinion both of the Sense and Honour of some Gentlemen in the Opposition, to think they would engage in so silly, and so dishonourable a Combination; but if a Cabal of such Creatures can be found, as it must be a very small one, so I dare say it will prove a very insignificant one; but whether it be great or small, I am persuaded he has not their leave to divulge this important Secret. But admit there really is such a Confederacy as Mr. P. intimates, and it were otherwise formidable, the Minister has nothing to apprehend from it now; he has no Occasion to think himself in *a dangerous Situation*; your own Letter has removed his Fears at once, and made him very safe; the Combination will soon be dissolved: Those who engaged with you, will from the Minute they read your Letter think themselves discharged, since you have convinced them, that you are not to be trusted in any thing that requires Secrecy; and from this Specimen of your Fidelity, are much surer they shall be betrayed, than that they shall not. For what Man of common Sense will, after this, go into dark Designs with one who is so little Master of himself, has so little Command
of

of his Passions, that there can be no depending on his Discretion or Silence? Who that is in Friendship with you, can be sure he shall be always so? And if the Time should ever come that this Friendship should be broken, what Security has he, that the most secret Transactions shall not be disclosed, that the most private Conversations shall not be betrayed? This they see you have done against all the Rules of Honour, and in defiance of all the Ties of Gratitude and Friendship. For there was formerly as much Friendship between this Minister and you, as there can be between you and any of your new Associates; and more Gratitude due from you, than will probably ever be due to you. For it is universally known, that this Minister first brought you into publick Busines ; it was he made you Secretary at War, and that to the great Disgust of the Duke of M — gh, who thought he had the best Right to recommend to a Post that so nearly related to the Army: And so undoubtedly he had ; but this Minister and his Friends had just reason to apprehend from the Influence a certain Person at that time had with that great Man, that the Office would fall into ill Hands, and therefore were before-

beforehand with him in recommending Mr. P. to the King for it. This, Sir, is too well known to be denied; this Place this Minister procured for you, when you had no manner of Pretension to it, no particular Talents for it, not so much as a turn to Busines; and in this respect at least he must be allowed to have made an improper Choice. This Obligation you had to the Minister, and you then very readily acknowledged it, and all the World saw how pleased you was with his Friendship; so that the *Remarker* had great reason to say, *there was a time when you thought it the highest Honour to be ranked among the Friends of this great Man.* This you can't bear to have said; but it is very true; there was no one thing you seemed to be so much pleased with at that time, as to be in the Company of this Minister, and his noble Friend, the late Secretary. After this indeed you grew weary of this Place, as an Office of more trouble than you cared for, and took occasion to lay down *with* him, but the Event soon shew'd it was not *for* him. However, afterwards you owed to the Friendship of the same Minister the Place of Cofferer, which you was then very desirous of, as what would thoroughly content you, being a Place

Place of a decent Income, and very agreeable to one who did not love Business. For still you had not a turn to that; and if you have now, 'tis owing first to the Friendship and Converse of this Minister, and next to your Opposition to him, pushed on by the most malignant Envy and Revenge. But so fickle, so inconstant is your Temper, so assuming your Ambition, that in a little time this Place grew to be disliked, tho' it had been so much desired, and it was not long before you wanted to shine in a higher Post ; and from a Disappointment in this commenced the Patriot.

From this short Account it appears, you were under all the Ties of Gratitude and Friendship, never to act a false or base Part by this Minister ; at least with respect to all things that had passed during the time this Friendship subsisted. But your Letter has abundantly shewn, that these Ties can have no hold of you ; your Outrages and infamous Treatment of this Minister have shewn, that there is nothing so mean and base, nothing so dishonourable, you will not descend to, to gratify your Passions and Resentments ; to do this, you will sacrifice all Faith and Gratitude, Honour and Friendship, and betray whatever has pass'd, though in the utmost

utmost Confidence, and under the Sanction of the most entire Intimacy. And can such a Man as this ever expect to be trusted again? Will Men of Sense and Honour confide in a Man, who on this Occasion has shewn he has neither? Will they put themselves in the Power, will they lie at the Mercy of a Man with whom no Secret is safe? whose Fidelity can no longer be depended on, than till Interest or Passion prompts him to a Violation of it? No, Sir, you have done your own Business; from this time forth there is an end of all Intimacy, of all Confidence, of all true Friendship, and you have put yourself into a worse State than your worst Enemies ever wished you.

The Reader must needs have a great Curiosity to know, what could provoke to so monstrous a Behaviour, or what Excuse can possibly be made for it. Your Excuse is very short, and lies in a few Words; you tell the *Remarker*, he has furnished you with an Excuse. He has laid it down, that *no Decency or Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation*. The *Remarker* indeed does say so, and very properly; for he is speaking of the other Patron of the *Craftsman*, who was accused of the blackest

blackest Crimes, not in Pamphlets, or by a few private Persons, but by the united Voice of the Nation, by the Representative of the People assembled in Parliament. Silence under such an Accusation is a Confession of Guilt; and no body can imagine, that Decency or Modesty ever ought to hinder, or in this Case would have hindred a Discovery of any thing which a Defence of himself could make necessary. But how does Mr. P. apply this Declaration of the *Remarkar* to his Case? Does the Defence of himself against any thing advanced in the *Remarks*, make it necessary for him to break through all the Rules of Decency, Honour, Gratitude and Friendship? Not in the least: All these personal Facts he has charged the Minister with, are absolutely impertinent and foreign to this Purpose. For what one Charge against Mr. P. will be taken off by telling the World, that the Minister, when Secretary of State, took the Appointments, and particularly the Plate, belonging to that Office? What service can it be of to Mr. P.'s Defence, to tell us, that the Minister was once frightned with an Apprehension of having his House burnt? or how will it remove the Imputation of notorious Disaffection, or

exorbitant Ambition, in Mr. P. to break in the rude Manner you have done into the Privacies of the Closets of Princes, and, upon pretended Hearsays, to take such scandalous Liberties, or to disclose any Scene of private Conversation, and that where a Prince's Honour is greatly interested, which by your own Account this Minister had with you above eleven Years ago? The trumping up these Stories now, could arise from nothing but your own ungovernable Resentment, and can end in nothing but your own Disgrace; since it leaves your Disloyalty and Perfidy without Excuse, unless the Provocation you have received be such as can fairly justify this strange Conduct. Let us then see whether it will or no.

The Provocation you plead in your Defence is this, that the *Remarks* have first treated Mr. P. in the same injurious Manner; and the *Remark*er is the Minister. But if neither of these Assertions be true, if the *Remarks* have not treated you in the Manner you pretend; or supposing they have, if the Minister is not the Author of them, nor any ways concerned in Writing or Directing them, what becomes of your Defence? First then I say, the *Remarks* have not taken

taken those scandalous Liberties with you, that you have taken with the Minister. They have meddled only with your publick Life, and your Behaviour in your political Capacity; they have not entred into private Life, nor attempted to betray things that have pass'd between Friends in private Conversation, much leſs have they raked up old Stories, either never known, or long ſince buried in Oblivion; or if in a few Words, they have touched on any thing of a domeſtick Nature, 'tis not by way of Discovery, or to tell the World ſomething they did not know before; no, 'tis touching only upon your known Character, and upon what has been the common Subject of Conversation: besides, even this is what your *Vindication* called for, and in ſome ſort made neceſſary. But you, on the contrary, deny this:

" You ſay there are ſeveral Paſſages of
 " ſecret History falſly ſtated and miſ-
 " repreſented, which could come from
 " nobody but the Minister, who might
 " perhaps employ ſome of his Merce-
 " naries to work them up for him, but
 " that the Ingredients are certainly his
 " own". The Minister you acknowledge
 disowns the Remarks to be his: You ſay,
 they could come from nobody else: Let

us then see what these Ingredients are, and whether they at all prove, what you so positively affirm they do. For if they do not, the whole Ground of your Defence of the unprecedented Liberties you have taken, is gone, and you are left entirely without Excuse. Now the first and most considerable of these Ingredients is, that you *insisted on having a great Employment; and that if you had been complied with, you would not have feared any Wickedness, or found out any Weakness.* And in another Part this is said to be the Place of *Secretary of State.* But is this any Proof that these Remarks must needs come from the Minister? Has not this been said a thousand and ten thousand Times? Is there a Gentleman in *England* hath not heard this? And I may ask, Who is there does not believe it? The Author of the Remarks therefore, might say this without being let into any Secret. But Mr. P— absolutely denies this, and says he never asked for the *Secretary's Place;* and defies any one to name the Time and Place, and Person, where and when, and of whom he asked it.

Who can doubt whether Mr. P— is not very sincere in this, and that great Injury is done him, to say, that he expected

expected or insisted on this Place, and that his Patriotism is to be dated from his Disappointment? But is not this Answer a mere Evasion, literally true in Words perhaps, but false in the Thing meant by them? Did not Mr. P—, upon an Appearance that one of the then Secretaries would be removed, expect the Seals, which ever of them they should be taken from; having, as he thought, made his Court so dexterously to both Sides, as to think himself in all Events secure of them? And when they were given to the noble Duke who now has them, was it not a very great Disappointment to him? Did he not, to make some amends for this Disappointment, again flatter himself with the Hopes of the Seals, upon an imaginary Vacancy, which was then apprehended to be near, it being rumour'd, that the Duke would go to *Ireland*? And did he not from this time, oppose the publick Measures with more violence than ever he had done before, and put himself at the Head of the Malecontents? If this be all true, then the *Remarker's Charge* will stand; a great Employment was insisted on, and the *Patriotism* of Mr. P— is rightly dated from this Disappointment: Then it is in effect

effect true, that Mr. P— did ask this Place, though directly and in Terms perhaps he did not.

This is what I remember was commonly said of this Affair when it was fresh : Let us now hear Mr. P---'s Account, which is this : “ That this Minister came “ up to Mr. P— one Day in the House “ of C——ns, and told him, that “ when either of the Secretaries of State “ were removed, the Ministers had their “ Eyes upon him for that Employment : “ And this was just at the time when Ap- “ plication was to be made to Parliament “ for Payment of the Debts of the Civil “ List.” Thus Mr. P— : Let now any impartial Man judge, whether there be any Probability in this Story? Whether any Minister could in this crude abrupt manner, come up to Mr. P—, and tell him, the Ministers had their Eyes upon him? I must confess I can't but suspect Mr. P—'s Memory here fails him ; not because I never heard of this Transaction before, but because there was no Prospect, no Intention of a Vacancy at that time: But if this Account be true, I would ask, Whether this Speech of the Minister to Mr. P— must not necessarily be relative to something that had been then in agitation? But if it be, then Mr.

P—'s

P—'s Memory has in part failed him: Something must have passed between the Minister and him concerning this Affair before; but something utterly inconsistent with what Mr. P— says passed in the House. Let the Reader judge which Account carries the greater Appearance of Truth in it. But which ever side he decides on, 'tis evident the *Remarker* has said nothing of this Matter, but what has long been the Talk of all the Town; and consequently what he says can't possibly be any Proof of his having any Communication with the Minister, or receiving Instructions from him.

But Mr. P — says, "Here is a manifest Proof he had no Ambition to be *Secretary of State*; for he would not comply with the Condition on which the Minister seemed to offer it: He stuck to his Point of opposing the *Civil List Debt*, and for that Cause, and for that alone, was turn'd out from being Cofferer." That he was turn'd out of the Place of Cofferer, I allow, and that he stuck to his Point in opposing the Bill for the Payment of the Debts of the Civil List, till the Third Reading; but I can by no means allow that this is a manifest Proof he had no Ambition to be *Secretary of State*. He had, according to

to my Memory of these Transactions, a violent Inclination to have this Place; he had been disappointed upon the last Vacancy; he saw little Hopes upon the next: The Civil List was to come into the House: Here is an Opportunity, which, if well improved, will force a Compliance from the Minister: He opposes the Bill, thro' the whole Progress of it; flatters himself they will not dare to take from him the Cofferer's Place; but, if they did, he doubted not he should soon, from *publick Necessity*, come into Power again, and into the Place he had so much mind to. Mr. P— knows some Men have been of that Importance that Ministers have thought it necessary for their Affairs, they should be gratified upon their own Terms: Mr. P— has seen Instances of this: But if this has come out so upon an Opposition from other Persons, why not upon an Opposition from him? Why may not he think himself of as much Importance, or as much worth gaining, as this, or any other Minister, has been ever thought to be before? He may, no doubt, think himself of great Importance; the only Difficulty is, to make other People think so; and in that I apprehend this Gentleman finds himself extremely mistaken:

He

He has not yet succeeded by his Opposition, nor is there any Appearance that he will : On the contrary, he has lost what he aimed at by the very Steps he has taken to procure it. A Vacancy in the Seals has happened ; his Opposition has not been able to force the Minister to a Compliance ; and he has the Mortification to see that great Employment given to another, which he might possibly have had, if he had been quiet, and waited with Patience for it.

'Tis true, Mr. *P*— lost the Cofferer's Place, and has not got that of Secretary ; but I am far from thinking, that this was his Intention : He did not think his Opposition to the Payment of the Civil List Debts would lose him one ; much less is it a manifest Proof that he had no Ambition to have the other. I remember very well that Mr. *P*—, while that Affair was in agitation, was several times at Court, and with the late K—, which is not usual for Gentlemen at the very time they are opposing the Court : But the Meaning of it was very plain ; Mr. *P*— hoped, by his singular Dexterity, to persuade the K— that he was not opposing him, but his Ministers : And therefore hoped his Majesty would not take it ill, since he meant it purely for

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his

his Service, and to make him manage better for the future. But Mr. P— must have had a great Opinion of his own Dexterity and Address, to think he could persuade a Prince out of his Senfes, and make him think it was for his Service to be denied the Money he had so much want of, to pay his Servants, Tradesmen, and Artificers. No, this was a very vain Imagination ; this was a Point that did not affect the K—'s Ministers, but the K— himself ; and it was impossible his M——ity could think him a good Servant, that was so violent in his Opposition upon a Point in which he was himself so greatly interested. However, Mr. P— thought he had hit upon an Expedient that would save his Place, without forfeiting his Patriotism ; and, after having opposed the Bill in the whole Progress of it, at the Third Reading, to the great surprize of every body, voted for it. This is a piece of Conduct, which Mr. P— is sensible wants to be explained ; and in order to this, gives us another piece of *Secret History*. The late K—, he says, frequently tried Mr. P— on this Point, and hoped to persuade him to be for it ; and then tells us what passed between the K— and him upon this Subject. The K—, it seems, argued

gued so well, that Mr. P— “ was not a
 “ little affected with it, and told him,
 “ what he meant to do was consistent
 “ with his Duty as *a Servant to his Ma-*
“ jesty, and agreeable to his Duty as a
“ Representative of the People;” with
 much more to the same purpose. And
 this Mr. P— thinks will account for this
 strange Conduct, and that he has now
 cleared up the Mystery. But if he has
 done it no more to the Satisfaction of
 others than to mine, he might as well
 have said nothing. I believe Mr. P—
 is the first Man who ever took this liber-
 ty of publishing to the World what pas-
 sed between his Prince and him in the
 Closet while he was his Servant, and yet
 pretended to retain any degree of respect
 for him: The Closets of Princes are sa-
 cred, and all Persons who know what
 Good-breeding is, whatever Respect they
 have for the Prince, will think such Li-
 berties highly indecent and inexcusable.
 Mr. P—’s Reason for doing this, is, in
 appearance, to account for a Conduct
 that never can be made consistent: But
 every body, I believe, will think the
 true Reason was something else, and that
 it proceeded from a Vanity of shewing
 what Access he has to the Closets of
 Princes, what Importance they have

thought him to be of, and how much they esteemed it for their Service to gain him ; and at the same time to set forth the Greatness of his own Mind, and how inflexible he is in the Service of his Country, that the Sollicitations, even of Princes themselves, can make no Impression on him. But it will take off a great deal from this supposed Importance, and very much lessen the Gaiety of the Show here made, when the Reader is told, that the K— sent not for him, but that he solicited the Audience of the K—, and that it was not granted without much Difficulty ; which, I well remember, was the common Report and Opinion of the Town at that time, and therefore proper to be taken notice of. But it is time to have done with this Affair of the Secretaryship, till Mr. P— thinks proper to resume it.

The next Particular by which Mr. P— would prove that the *Remarkar* had his Materials from the Minister is, that he pretends to give some Account of Mr. P—'s Estate. This Writer has said, that *Mr. P—'s Estate was all acquired by a Secretary of the Treasury*, in which you say, he is very much mistaken ; for that this Secretary did not leave him more than to the Value of about 5000*l.* And is this a Proof that
the

the Minister wrote the *Remarks*, or at least furnished the Materials? Had the Fact been truly and particularly stated, Mr. P— might have had some pretence to say somebody had furnished him with Materials: But why must this have been the Minister? But if it be very falsely represented, in my Apprehension that is a very strong Proof to the contrary. Mr. P— can't be ignorant, that Mr. Guy and Mr. P— were Names which for some time were much tossed about in all publick Conversation. What was then said, and was true, was that Mr. Guy had left all his Estate to Mr. P—; this in length of time might, by pure mistake, easily come in the talk of the World to be changed thus: Mr. P— had all his Estate left him by Mr. Guy. These Assertions in found are much alike, and 'tis no great Wonder if such Mistakes are made by People who have no Opportunities of knowing any thing of such Matters, but as they pass from one to another in common Conversation: But as I know not the Author of the *Remarks*, who may perhaps have good Authority for what he has said, I leave him to answer for himself. But I must observe, that the Minister had Opportunity enough, of knowing what Estate Mr. Guy left, and therefore, what

what Mr. P— would have thought a certain Proof, that this *Remark* came from the Minister; must, if it be false, to every Man of Sense be a certain Proof it did not. However Mr. P— seems to be not a little pleased with the Handle the *Remarks* have given him, to give the World his own Account of his Estate, in which he spends many Pages, which I shall say nothing at all to; but I must beg leave to differ from this Gentleman, if he thinks the Greatness of his Estate any Proof, that the Minister did not first raise him and procure him the Places he for some time enjoyed. Do Ministers bring no Persons into Place, who have Estates superior to their own? What can be more false, or more ridiculous than such an Assertion? But if they may, and every Day do, Why not Mr. P—? Why may he not owe his Places to a Person in Estate much inferior to him? And there is another thing I beg leave to suggest to Mr. P—, which is, that great Merit, and a great Estate, are so very different things, that they are not very often found together; and therefore the Minister may have much more Merit than Mr. P—, though he has a much less Estate. The Minister, I dare say Mr. P— knows to be of a very ancient Family,

mily, and that he had a good paternal visible Estate. But let it have been as little, or as much dipped as Mr. P— pleases, it shews the Merit and Virtue of the Minister the more ; that he could not by any Considerations in the latter end of the Queen's Reign, be prevailed on to quit his Party. He adhered steadily to his Friends, to the Whig Interest, to the Cause of Liberty and the Protestant Succession, in despight of either Promises or Menaces. I am confident you know, that the chief Minister used great Endeavours to gain him to his Side, and told him openly, that he was worth half his Party ; and when Caresses were tried in vain, they were so much afraid of his Opposition, that they judged it necessary to ruin him if they could ; and that was the true and only Cause of all the Noise that was made about the Contract for *Scotch Forage*, and of the violent Persecution he suffer'd on that Occasion. The Cause he was engaged in, was the same those two great Ministers the Lords M— and G— had maintained with so much Glory ; and since none of them would come into the new Measures, it was thought necessary they all should be disgrac'd. You know, Sir, this to be the Case ; you was yourself tho-

thoroughly convinced of his Innocence ; there was at that time an admirable Defence of him published to the World, to the Satisfaction of all who were not in Interest and Party engaged against him : And this Defence, your Inconsistency with yourself in this, as well as in other Particulars, has occasion'd to be lately reprinted in the *Free Briton* ; which will put it in every bodys power to judge, whether Mr. P— was in the right then when he voted him Innocent, or now when he would have him thought guilty.

I think, Sir, there is nothing else in your Letter you pretend to assign, as a Proof that the Minister wrote or directed the *Remarks* ; and 'tis most evident the Particulars you have assigned are no Proof at all. How then could you expostulate in the manner you do, to defend the unparallel'd Liberties you have taken ?

“ Have you not entred into the minutest
 “ Parts of this Gentleman's domestick
 “ Affairs ? Have you not pretended to
 “ give an account of his *Family Estate* ?
 “ Have you not reproached him with his
 “ *sparing scraping Nature* ; his vindictive
 “ Temper ; his Spight and Ambition ” ?
 What has the *Remarker* said to justify
 this Expostulation ? *Spright, Ambition, and*

Revenge

Revenge, a Man may be charged with from his publick Character, without entering into private Life. What is said of your Estate, is, I apprehend, no more than has commonly pass'd in the Conversation of the Town: And as to the Charge of a *sparing, scraping Nature*, the Author, I presume, speaks of it from common Fame: For every Man of any Figure has a Character of one kind or other in common Life, and in the general Esteem; there is no need of private Informations, or of particular Enquiries, to form to one's self an Opinion of a Man of Note; the World has done it to our Hands, and one Man is universally look'd on as *generous* and *open-hearted*, while another is, in general repute, a *Niggard*, and of a little Mind, or in the words of the *Remarks*, of a *sparing, scraping Nature*. How then can this be said to be *entering into the minutest Parts* of Mr. P—'s Domestick Affairs? 'Tis nothing less, 'tis speaking after others, and saying only what the rest of the World every Day says.

But if this Expostulation were ever so just, and the *Remarker* had done all that he is here accused of, what's this to the Minister, if he had no Hand in it? And 'tis evident, Mr. P— is able to advance

nothing that has the least colour of Proof to shew he has ; nay, when fairly considered, what he advances is a strong Proof against him. Mr. P— therefore has no room to defend himself from his scandalous and barbarous Usage of the Minister, from any Pretence of Provocation receiv'd from him in the same kind ; and consequently in all Views must be condemned by all Men who have any regard to Honour and Decency, or to the common Rules of good Manners and Civility.

The rest of Mr. P—'s Invective is nothing but an empty Declamation in the usual Strain, of *Bribery* and *Corruption*, and *Profusion*, of fatal *Mistakes* and *Blunders*, of *silly Treaties*, *weak* and *wicked Measures*, and the like common-place Cant of seditious Demagogues, and therefore little needs be said to it. These are all stale Charges utterly unsupported by Facts. He knows he has been often called on in the proper place, and defied to make good any one of them ; and whenever he attempts it, it may be guessed with what Success it will be from the Facts I have here examined. But indeed had these Charges any Truth in them, they are of such a nature, that the late King and his present Majesty, their Ministers, their Parliaments, would be all

no less involved in them. For how ignorant must our Princes have been to be insensible of all this Corruption and Profusion? How weak must they be not to know what Treaties they make, or what is for their own and the Nation's Interest, but to go on in a Series of perpetual Blunders for many Years together, and all the while never once discover they are in the wrong? What Idea must the People have of the *Hanover Family*, if they are to believe this worthy Patriot? How unhappy are these Princes in the Choice of their Ministers, that there should not be one amongst them who has the Virtue or Wisdom of Mr. P— to open their Eyes, and let them see how they are imposed on; but should all concur in the Measures of this one corrupt Minister, and steadily adhere to him? In what an infamous manner does Mr. P— in these Charges treat the two Houses of Parliament? For if there be all this Bribery, and Corruption, and Profusion, on whom is this Treasure wasted? Who are the Persons bribed and corrupted? Are they not the Members of the two Houses? Is it not most evident that this is what Mr. P— would insinuate? If all our Treaties have been silly, and contrary to the true Interest of *England*, what Parliaments must we have had for

sixteen Years past, who have given their Sanction to them, and engaged to support his late and present Majesty in the Execution of them, and have voted the publick Measures prudent, just, and honourable? What can be a higher Reflection on the two Houses than this Treatment of them? 'Tis throwing upon every Member in the Majority in both Houses, the same insolent Reproaches as Traitors to their Country, which he so liberally casts upon the Minister; and every one of them has equally a right to demand Satisfaction for so high an Affront, which is the greatest Injury that can possibly be done them. I confess I am amazed at the great Lenity of the Commons, how it is they can suffer themselves to be thus insulted, and all their Conduct in this infamous manner arraigned Year after Year. 'Tis amazing the Gentleman who has the Honour to be their Speaker, can with Patience hear the House perpetually treated with so much Indignity, and that he does not endeavour to teach this Gentleman some Modesty and Decency, by calling him to order every time he takes these most indecent Liberties, which begin in the Minister, but necessarily terminate in the House itself. One would think this Behaviour

haviour were indulg'd on purpose to ruin the Credit of this Gentleman, and that scope was given him with design that he might the sooner speak himself out of Reputation. But perhaps when the Houses meet next, they may think it necessary, in order to support their Dignity, to shew some Resentment of such monstrous Usage, and to enquire who it is that has dared to arraign and condemn all they have done in this unexampled manner. In the mean time, I think it may be truly said, that this is prodigious Insolence; that one Man should pretend to have more Virtue and Integrity, more Knowledge and Wisdom, than our Princes, than our Ministers, than our Parliaments, than the whole Government; this is such Vanity, such Sufficiency, as nothing can excuse, and which raises both Indignation and Contempt. The *Remarks* have said with great Truth, that there has been no more Cause to complain either of Corruption or Profusion, since Mr. P— has opposed the Government, than there plainly was while he had the Honour to concur with the Ministry; and yet then we had no Complaints, which shews how groundless they are now. Had Mr. P— been gratified instead of being disappointed; had he been complied with instead

instead of being refused; would he have feared any *Wickedness*, say the *Remarks*, or have found any *Weakness* in this Administration? 'Tis very certain he would not; and therefore this Writer has Reason to add, "I defy him and all his Sophisters to contradict me in this." In these Words Mr. P— finds great *Folly* and *Nonsense*, and thinks it a confession there was both *Weakness* and *Wickedness* in the Administration; and upon this spends a whole Page. There are many Pages in Mr. P—'s Letter, that shew great *Weakness* in Reasoning, but this in instant Stupidity exceeds them all. Here is a Charge of *Folly* and *Nonsense* that can't possibly be found in these Words, but which 'tis very easy to find in the Comment on them. Was Mr. P— sincere when he reasoned, as he does in this place, or was he not? If he was, where is his Reason? If he was not, where is his Sincerity? But perhaps Vanity and Sufficiency have had that Effect on Mr. P—, that whatever was the Cause of the Opposition and the Clamour he made at first, he in length of time has come to believe himself the stuff he would impose on others, and really thinks himself wiser than all the World besides, and that every thing in the State would go much better than it does, if he

he had the Management. So thought *Young Phaeton*, when he was pressing to be trusted with the Chariot of the Sun; a great many Disorders which the World laboured under, he was sure would be effectually removed and prevented for the future, by his superior Skill and Conduct; but what was the Consequence? The Reins were no sooner put into his Hands, but he set the World on Fire, and himself perished in the Flames. For the Nation's sake, I hope, Sir, you will never have the same Fate; and for the same Reason, never have it put into your Power. And so I take leave till you again command my Service.

June 29th 1731.



POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the *Craftsman's Vindication* takes in both his honourable Patrons, I hope it will give no Offence, if, at the End of a Letter to one, I take a little notice of the other, who in his *Final Answer* hath shewn himself much the better Writer. If his Defence be in

reality no Defence, it is not the Fault of the Writer, but of the Cause; and if that part where he takes upon him to be on the Offensive, be rude and virulent, it is no more than what we have been long us'd to; nothing better could be expected from a Man of so abandon'd a Character, and whose Case is quite desperate. It is not at all to be wonder'd at, that one who can never be made white, should endeavour to blacken others, and labour to make some faint similitude of Characters. A very faint one indeed it is, when he would insinuate, that his own unparallel'd Ingratitude to those that rais'd him, has been copied by the Minister. 'Tis well known, the noble Person hinted at, had taken his Resolution to retire, and could not be diverted from it, when he could do it with Honour; and with the Satisfaction of having put the last Hand to the Treaty of *Seville*; which as it had been his peculiar Care, so was he extremely pleased to get over the Difficulties that had obstructed it, and bring it to a good Conclusion.

But what induces me to take any notice of this Gentleman, is his Treatment of a Minister to whom he is so much obliged, and to whose Assistance he owes it,

it, that he is not still an Exile in distress. It would be very surprizing to see a Man, who, if you will believe him, is so contented and resigned, and in whom all Ambition, and Lust of Power is long since extinguished, still retain in his Breast, that most detestable of Vices, Ingratitude to his Benefactors; if any thing could be surprizing in a Character so well known. He is sensible nothing can excuse his using, in so infamous a Manner, a Person to whom the World thinks he has so great Obligations, and therefore makes no Scruple to deny that he has these Obligations to him. On the contrary, he imputes it to this Minister, to his Ambition, Jealousy, and private Interest, that the Favours that have been shewn him went no farther; that the *Servant defeated the gracious Intentions of his Master*; that what was done for him in part of the late King's Intentions, was solely due to the King; that they were not fulfilled, was solely due to the Minister. Let us then see, whether this be so or no.

When the King intended to send a gracious Message to the Commons, in favour of this Gentleman; Did this Minister endeavour to oppose it, or advise against it? Did he not take the proper care to prepare the House for a favourable Reception of it? Did he promise to

take any part in this Affair, which he did not? Did he not, in Fact, do a great deal more than he had promised? Did he not directly sollicit this Affair, and take the Weight of it upon himself; when all he had promised was, that he would not himself be against it, but give it what countenance he could, by speaking for it? Did not this Minister in espousing this Affair give great disgust, and meet with so warm an Opposition, as made the Event doubtful? Is there in the whole Course of his Ministry, a single Instance, in which so many Gentlemen in the Whig Interest, so many of the King's Friends, so many of his own, and these Persons in all respects of the greatest Distinction, and best Characters, differ'd from him? They saw what would be the Consequence, that he was cherishing a Viper full of deadly Poison, who as he grew warm, and recover'd Life, would give him a mortal Sting, and again endanger the Constitution. I have not a List by me of the Names of the Members of either House, who opposed the Bill in Favour of this Gentleman; but the Transaction is of so late Date, and the Persons opposing were of so great Consideration, that the thing can't but be very well remembred; and the

the Reasons for their Opposition may be fully seen in the Protest drawn up on that Occasion, which though signed by few, out of regard to the King and his Ministers, expressed the Sense of many : And these Reasons are such as will convince all reasonable Judges, that if this Minister is to be blamed, 'tis not for doing too little for him, but for doing too much. How then can this ungrateful Creature say, that the *Servant defeated the Intentions of his Master?* Had he done so, he had acted a Wise and Prudent Part for the Kings Interest as well as his own, and the Nation had been happy in the Absence of an infamous Incendiary. But good Nature, and a forgiving Temper, prevailed against Judgment, and made him forget how ill this Gentleman had deserved of him personally, as well as of his Country. He looked neither backward or forward so much as he should have done on this great Occasion. If he had sufficiently consider'd either the Ambition or the Ingratitude of this perfidious Man, he would have found that he was insatiable and incorrigible ; that it would be to no purpose to restore him to his Country and to his Fortune, if not to his Title, and to Power ; that so ungrateful a Nature

can't be obliged, and that nothing less than all, would satisfy such Ambition; and therefore all Endeavours to serve him would in the Event be lost upon him: and so the Event has fully shewn. Instead of Thanks and Acknowledgments for the Pains taken to serve him, and the good Success of them, he reproaches and reviles his Benefactor, as if he had been his cruelest Enemy, and in the most frontless Manner disowns all Obligations to him.

This is the Man, behold him well! You see his true Picture much better drawn than I can do it, in the following Protest.

Die Lunæ 24° Maii 1725.

TH E House (according to Order) was adjourned during pleasure, and put into a Committee again on the Bill entituled, *An Act for enabling Henry St. John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, and the Heirs Male of his Body, notwithstanding his Attainder, to take and enjoy several Manors, Lands, and Hereditaments, in the Counties of Wilts, Surry, and Middlesex, according to such Estates and Interests as to him or them are limited thereof by the Quinquepartite Indenture, and other Assurances therein mentioned; and for limiting the same*

*same in default of Issue Male of the Body of the
said late Viscount Bolingbroke, to the other
Sons of Henry Viscount St. John successively
in Tail Male, and for other Purposes
therein expressed.*

And after some Time spent therein,
the House was resumed, and the Lord
Delawar reported from the said Com-
mittee, That they had gone through
the Bill, and directed him to report the
same to the House without any Amend-
ment.

And it being moved to read the said
Bill the Third time presently,

The same was objected to,

And Debate thereupon,

The Question was put, Whether the
said Bill shall be now read the Third
time?

It was Resolved in the Affirmative.

Then,

The said Bill was accordingly read the
Third time:

And, after further Debate,

The Question was put, Whether this
Bill shall pass?

It was Resolved in the Affirmative.

Differ-

Dissentient:

Warrington. *Wharton.* *Scarsdale.* 1st. Because the Purport and Intention of this Bill is to Repeal several Acts of Parliament passed since his Majesty's Accession, whereby all the Estate and Interest of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, in the Lands mentioned in this Bill, being forfeited to the Crown for High Treason, were vested in Trustees, and still remain appropriated to the Use and Benefit of the Publick: The Value of which Lands amount, as we believe, to several thousand Pounds *per Ann.* We therefore think it unjust to all the Subjects of this Kingdom, who have born many heavy Taxes, occasioned, as we believe, in great measure by the Treasons committed, and the Rebellion which was encouraged by this Person, to take from the Publick the Benefit of his Forfeiture.

2dly. It appears from the *Articles of Impeachment*, exhibited by the *Commons* against the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, whereon he now stands attainted by Act of Parliament, That he stood charged with the Commission of several Treasons of the most flagrant and dangerous Nature, committed by him while he was Secretary of State to her late Majesty Queen *Anne*, for traiterously betraying her most secret Coun-

Counsels to the *French* King, then at War and in Enmity with her Majesty, and with other Treasons tending to destroy the Balance of *Europe*, and to raise the then exorbitant Power of the *French* King, who, not long before, had publickly acknowledged the Pretender to be the lawful and rightful King of these Realms.

3dly. The Treasons wherewith he was charged, we conceive were fully confessed by his Flight from the Justice of Parliament: But his Guilt was afterwards, as we think, indisputably demonstrated by the new Treasons he openly and avowedly committed against his present Majesty; it being notorious, and it having been declared to the House on the Debate of this Bill, That he did, soon after his Flight, enter publickly into the Counsels and Service of the Pretender, who was then fomenting and carrying on a Rebellion within these Kingdoms, for the dethroning his Majesty; into which Rebellion many of his Majestys Subjects, as well Peers as Commoners, were drawn, as we believe, by the Example or Influence of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, and for which Treasons many Peers and Commoners have been since attainted, and some

some of them executed, and their Estates, both Real and Personal, became forfeited by their Attainders, and as yet continue under those Forfeitures.

4thly. We have not been informed of any particular Publick Services which this Person hath performed to his Majesty or this Nation, since his Commission of the many high and dangerous Treasons before-mentioned; and in case he has done any, they must be of such a Nature, as ought, in our Opinions, to be rewarded in another manner than is provided by this Bill, and for which, we think, the Crown is otherwise sufficiently enabled. And the Sincerity of his having quitted the Interest of the Pretender, may, in our Opinions, be justly suspected, he never having, as appears to us, throughout the Progress of this Bill in both Houses, once signified his Sorrow for the Treasons he had committed: And if he had really abandon'd that Interest, his private Intelligences or Services with regard to the Interest or Counsels of the Pretender, can't reasonably be supposed, in our Opinions, to be of great Value.

5thly.

5thly. We think, that no Assurances which this Person hath given, nor any Services he can have performed since his Commission of the Treasons aforesaid, or any further Obligations he can enter into, can be a sufficient Security to his Majesty, or the Kingdom, against his future Insincerity; which may happen, he having already so often violated the most solemn Assurances and Obligations; and in defiance of them having openly attempted the dethroning his Majesty, and the Destruction of the Liberties of his Country.

6thly. We think, the Services he may have performed, if any, ought not to be rewarded, either in the degree, or in the manner provided by this Bill; it having been found by Experience in Cases of like Nature, that the strongest Assurances have afterwards proved deceitful; for which Reason we conceive it to be unwise and dangerous to give such Rewards as can't be recalled, though the Assurances should be broke: And we believe it to be the known Policy and universal Practice of wise Governments, to keep the Persons (claiming Merit from such Ser-

vices as the late Lord *Bolingbroke* can possibly have performed since the Commission of his Treasons) dependent on the Government for the Continuance of those Rewards.

7thly. The Pardon of the late Lord *Bolingbroke* under the Great Seal, having been communicated to the House, and under Consideration, on the Debate of this Bill, we think, that this Bill ought not to pass, because it may hereafter be construed in some degree to confirm or countenance that Pardon : And we are of Opinion, That that Pardon, though it may be legal, as to the Treasons committed by him since his Attainder, yet, so far as it may be construed (if that should be) to pardon or affect the Act of Attainder of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, or the Impeachment of the *Commons*, on which that Act is founded, It is a most dangerous Violation of the ancient Rights and Freedom of the Kingdom, and will defeat the whole Use and Effect of Impeachments by the *Commons*; which is, as we think, the chief Institution, arising even from the Constitution itself, for the Preservation of the Government, and for the attaining Parliamentary

tary Justice ; and tends, as we conceive, to render the Rights and Judicature of this House, on Impeachments and Bills of Attainder, vain and useless ; all which ancient Rights of both Houses, and of the Subjects of this Nation, were saved to them by the Revolution, and were intended, as we conceive, to have been for ever preserved to them, in their full Extent, by the Act passed in the Reign of the late King *William*, of ever Glorious Memory, by which the Crown of these Realms is limited and settled on his present Majesty and his Issue ; and in which Act it stands declared, That no Pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an Impeachment of the Commons.

8thly. We are of Opinion, That the Power of Dispensing Mercy, is an ancient inherent Right of the Crown of these Realms, and the Exercise of it of great Benefit to the People, when 'tis wisely and properly applied : But it being incumbent on us in the Vote we give for or against passing this Bill, to judge between the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, and to consider the Right and Title he appears to us to have to the Benefits of this Bill, and the Concern, which on the other side,

the Honour, Interest, and Safety of the King and his Royal Family, and the whole Kingdom have, in our Opinion, from the Consequences of it; we think we can't be justified in our own Thoughts, with regard to the latter, or to our Posterity, if we should consent that this Bill should pass.

<i>Coventry.</i>	<i>Clinton.</i>	<i>Bristol.</i>
<i>Onslow.</i>	<i>Leckmere.</i>	

F I N I S.





